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CONSTITUTION

OF

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HARMONY DIVISION, No. 1,

OF THE

Pennsylvania Confederated Protective Union,

WITH AN OUTLINE OF ITS

PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSED MEASURES.



“Liberty—Equality—Fraternity!”

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1850.

## OFFICERS—1850.

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### *Practical Department,*

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JOHN SHEDDON, VICE-CHIEF.

### *Social Department,*

WILLIAM J. MULLEN, CHIEF.

PASCHAL COGGINS, VICE CHIEF.

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ISAAC REHN, CHIEF.

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# PENNSYLVANIA

## CONFEDERATED PROTECTIVE UNION.

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THIS UNION is founded upon enlightened Socialist principles, looking to the permanent elevation of labor in the scale of physical and intellectual being.

It assumes, and seeks to make practical the fact, that the Human Race is one Great Brotherhood, pervaded by one life, and having but one interest and destiny.

A system of society recognizing this fact, would be fraternally united in co-operative associations, which would mutually interchange products, and so distribute Labor as that each would have his proper kind and amount, and the full reward of his own industry.

The State Governments of the United States, while ostensibly based upon the declaration that all men are created equal, and endowed with the right of life, liberty and happiness, make no provision, except by civil police, for the security of those rights. They leave society at large to itself, which, except for municipal and local ends, is wholly disorganized, and a prey to its own anarchy.

Security for person and property is taken to be the sole end of Government, overlooking the fact that this function is needed least where industry has ample opportunity, and most where it is subject to individual or corporate rapacity.

The American Revolution asserted broad principles, without seeking to apply them in detail. The great question of property—the most vital of all questions to human progress—was left untouched. Its greatest merit was the negative one of abrogating, for the time, the more oppressive features of the British system, and leaving the citizen more completely to self-control. But it was precisely from this point that a constructive plan of co-operative township organization was re-

quired to fill up the outline of our social institutions, and to effectually secure to each the right to the means of sustaining life, maintaining liberty, and pursuing happiness. The necessity for such an organization is seen in the results developed in the absence of it.

1. The land becomes monopolized by virtue of pre-occupation, not, indeed, in entail, but sufficient to introduce, and, with other causes, to perpetuate, a tenant system, in contravention of the right to live, whereby a vicious relation is established between parties otherwise equal, tending to the serfdom of the one for the benefit of the other.

2. A metallic currency becomes established as the basis of exchanges, the effect of which, when exclusively employed, is to keep down the product of a country to its own level, and to enable the holder of the money coin to dictate terms to both producer and consumer.

3. Society having no understood and established dependence of parts, is driven into competition with itself. Honorable Labor becomes an object of traffic, to be speculated upon by the cunning, and taken advantage of by the opulent, who add to their own gains in proportion as they impoverish those they employ.

4. The aggregate product and consumption being kept down to a certain average, by the metallic base, the effect ensues that the supply of human labor is always above the demand, the competition of which reduces its value to a standard hardly above a mere subsistence, leaving little, generally nothing, for the chances of sickness, want of employment, and old age.

5. There being no understood relation of producer and consumer, both become dependent upon the buyer and seller, who aggregate fortuitously in commercial marts, drawing around them the dependent industry, and thus rearing those great moral and physical evils, large cities.

6. Productive Labor, receiving at best but a bare support, the means, the leisure and education become concentrated in mercantile and professional pursuits, which attain social supremacy over the industry which sustains them all, and consign that industry to comparative degradation.

7. As the tendency of capital is to increase, and the value of human labor to diminish, the two interests become arrayed in hostile parties, which, when called by their true names, are a LABOR Party and a CAPITAL Party, or looking to last results, a LIBERTY Party, and a SLAVERY party, since Slavery admits of degrees.

8. Population becomes wastefully scattered, to the prejudice of civilization, over an immense tract of country, whereby labor and resources are squandered in the transportation of persons and products from place to place; in supporting additional town, county and state officers, and in maintaining the isolated household. Or, as the opposite extreme, large masses of human beings become huddled together in cities, many of them in a condition but little above the brute, who become the enemies of social order, and the creatures of political demagogues, ready at any time to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.\*

Lastly, a complicated system of law becomes necessary to provide for the contingencies of a complicated and discordant society. The vicissitudes incident to life; engender poverty, vice and crime—the very evils Government is framed to prevent. The larger capitalists ultimately absorb all real property, thus producing a commercial feudalism, or, in other words, an aristocracy, which eats up the substance of the people—an enormity which the Revolution sought to abolish, but has failed to avoid, and which may, and will, unless prevented, in time subvert what remains of republican liberty.†

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\* “And here, Mr. President, history appears in her grand and instructive character, as philosophy teaching by example; and let us not be senseless to her warning voice. Superficial readers believe it was the *military* men who destroyed the Roman Republic. No such thing. It was the politicians who did it! Faction, corrupt, intriguing politicians! destroying public virtue in their mad pursuit of office! destroying their rivals by crime! deceiving and debauching the people for votes! and bringing the elections into contempt by the frauds and violence with which they were conducted.”—*Speech of Thomas H. Benton, on the Texan Treaty.*

† “Society has merely changed masters. The feudalism of capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of force. The millionaire is as dangerous to the welfare of the community in our day, as was the baronial lord of the middle ages. Both

The Protective Union, while holding these views, gives all proper weight to the progressive tendencies of the times; to the influence of common schools, where they exist; to the obstacle in the way of monopoly presented by an, as yet, unsettled continent; and more than all, to the influence of an enlightened press. These are moral causes chiefly, which may give direction to public opinion; but all experience has shown the impotence of mere opinion against organic defects, unsupported by a vigorous system of measures. "No fact (says a writer), is more important, and none more overlooked, than that society exists in and through its institutions; the family, the religion, the government, the workshop, the counting-house, and the school house. Through these, society unfolds its powers, sends out its passions, and develops its history. Without them, it could not exist." Organization, the perfection of creative effort, to which all nature tends, is the perfection of human society also, and cannot be too early begun.

The Protective Union wishes it distinctly understood however, that it adheres to no special school of Reformers. It accepts Socialism without endorsing the supposed infidelity, immorality or agrarianism of any of them. It jeopardizes neither the possession of property, nor the sanctities of the family relation; and while it will adopt measures to curtail, and in the end abolish the power of mere money, it admits a just relation of Capital

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supply the means of shelter and raiment on the same conditions; both hold their retainers in service by the same tenure—their necessity for bread; both use their superiority to keep themselves superior. The power of money is as imperial as the power of the sword. Weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, or even in the clumsy scales of human justice, there is no equity in the allotments which assign to one man a dollar a day *with* working, while another has an income of a dollar a minute, *without* working. Under the reign of force, or under the reign of money, there may be here and there a good man who uses his power for *blessing*, and not for *oppressing* his race; but all their natural tendencies are exclusively *bad*. In England, we see the feudalism of capital approaching its catastrophe. In Ireland, we see the catastrophe consummated."—*Horace Mann's Advice to Young Men*.

Cicero says that Rome, just before she became an empire, had but 2000 property holders in a population of 1,200,000. All the real property of Great Britain, is said, at this moment, to be owned by less than 30,000 persons.

with Labor, and cedes a share of the product accruing from the use of both.

The plan of movement contemplates—

I. The organization of families in Divisions, federatively united, for consumption, looking to the command of its own market.

II. The organization of operatives in confederated co-operative Associations, looking to the abolition of the wages system.

III. The organization of mechanico-agricultural Associations, looking to improved township arrangement.

IV. The organization of a Democratic Socialist party, to secure favorable political action, (1.) in limiting the future acquisition of landed estate, and confining the same to actual residents; (2.) In changing the system of banking, so as to substitute real property for the present specie basis; (3.) In revising the criminal code, so as to remove to, and permanently colonize on the waste lands, as well those who become amenable to the criminal law, as all vagrants and profligates, without visible means of support; (4.) To secure corporate privileges for operative and agricultural Associations; (5.) To give females equal rights with males.

These various movements, having a necessary connection, will be accomplished in easy and natural steps, by virtue of the law of mutual effort, governing the whole. At each step, an individual benefit is derived, which prompts the next, and so successively. The Protective Store saves the profits now made by numerous intermediaries, buying at wholesale, and selling at or near cost. The Combined Dwelling saves in rent, fuel, furniture, female labor and family expense generally. The Co-operative Association saves employers' profits, and affords to each member a guarantee against actual want; and the crowning measure secures ultimately a home for all on the soil, with the means of the highest physical, intellectual and spiritual development.

The objects proposed possess such importance, that all mere adventitious issues will be absorbed in the general interest, and each member will come pledged to be true to his obligations in sustaining his organization against all attacks. But

to effect greater unity, the Protective Union founds a new Order, private only in its business management, having its peculiar symbols and indoctrinal exercises. For this end, it divides its functions into three parts, the PRACTICAL, the SOCIAL, and INDOCTRINAL, each holding alternate sessions, and having its appropriate officers. The PRACTICAL Department devises and gives efficacy to active measures. The SOCIAL Department takes cognizance of morals and manners, instructing in the principles of physiology, natural philosophy and family education. The INDOCTRINAL Department elucidates the intellectual and spiritual, through universal analogy.

Thus a sphere is opened for every shade of reformers, uniting them upon a common platform, and making the labors of all contribute to the common end. It remains only for them to gather under the general banner.



## PREAMBLE.

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We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, for the purpose of uniting the interests of producer and consumer; securing the reward of industry to the laborer; erecting guards against poverty by mutual guaranties; infusing a fraternal co-operative spirit into social and business life, and preparing for a peaceful reconstruction of society upon the principles of distributive justice, do ordain for our government the following

## CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. The name of the Association is "HARMONY DIVISION, No. 1, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CONFEDERATED PROTECTIVE UNION.

ART. II. All persons are eligible to membership. But candidates must be proposed at a regular meeting, and the proposition referred to a Committee, who will inquire as to character, and report at the next meeting; when a ballot is had, and if there be not more than *two* ballots in the negative, the candidate is elected.

ART. III. Each adult member pays, on signing the Constitution, an introductory fee of ONE DOLLAR, and six cents per week dues thereafter. Minors, less than fourteen years of age, pay a fee of twenty-five cents, and three cents weekly dues.

ART. IV. The sums paid by female members are set apart and constitute a Widows and Orphans' Fund, to be employed in founding and sustaining a home for the use of the widows and orphans of deceased members. The sums paid by male members go to defray current expenses, and forwarding the cause generally.

### *Officers and Organization.*

ART. V. The Officers of the Division are three Chiefs and Vice-Chiefs, one Senior and two Assistant Recording Scribes, one Senior and two Assistant Financial Scribes; and three Trustees; all of whom are elected annually, by a majority of the votes polled; but no member is eligible to office who is in arrears for dues, or who has not had a prior membership, of at least six months.

ART. VI. The Division is composed of three Departments:  
(1) The PRACTICAL Department, which devises and gives

efficacy to active measures: (2) The SOCIAL Department, which takes cognizance of morals and manners, instructing in the principles of physiology, natural philosophy, and family education: (3) The INDOCTRINAL Department, which elucidates the intellectual and spiritual, through universal analogy. The Departments hold alternate sessions, and each elects its own Chief, Vice-Chief and one Trustee; the Practical Department, the Senior Recording and Financial Scribes; and the Social and Indoctrinal Departments, each an Assistant Recording and Financial Scribe.

ART. VII. Each Chief, on the evening of his election, appoints a Senior and Junior Usher, and such other assistants as he may deem necessary.

ART. VIII. The elective officers constitute a Board of Directors, who manage the external affairs of the Division.

### *Duties of Officers.*

ART. IX. The Chiefs respectively, in conducting the business and exercises of the Division, follow the programme given in the Formulary. Financial measures may be entertained by any of the three Departments, but final action can be had only in the Practical Department, to which all must be referred.

ART. X. The Recording Scribe, with Assistants, keeps the minutes at all the sessions; keeps a classification of the members of the Division by their professions; preserves statistics and reports; attends to correspondence; and presents annual reports to each Department, of progress during the year.

ART. XI. The Financial Scribe, with Assistants, keeps account between members and the Division, pays drafts drawn by the Chief of the Practical Department, attested by the Recording Scribe; and presents an annual report to that Department of the state of the Treasury, its receipts and expenditures during the year.

ART. XII. The Trustees hold the property of the Division in trust, other than that in the hands of the Recording and Financial Scribes, and constitute a Committee of Supervision over the Hall of meeting, its furniture and decorations.

ART. XIII. The Directors are the executive body of the Division, of which the Chief of the Practical Department is *ex-officio* President. They arrange the details of the Protective Agencies, so far as this Division is concerned; project a plan of Combined Dwellings, and urge it forward to consummation; carry through the enrollment of operatives by trades, systematizing their dependencies and relations; and settle the outline of the Widows and Orphans' Home, on a basis admitting of extension to township organization. Five Directors are a quorum.

ART. XIV. When two or more Divisions are formed, the duties of the Board of Directors become merged into a Central Board, composed of all the elective Officers from each, until it shall be voted too large, when the Assistant Recording and Financial Scribes are dropped, and if still too large, the Trustees and Vice-Chiefs.

ART. XV. The Central Board, when formed, sits annually as a nominating convention for city, county, state and United States officers, members of the Legislature and of Congress. In no event, can it relinquish the identity of its own party, to unite or act with others.

ART. XVI. Division No. 2, is organized, when No. 1, reaches six hundred members, by the withdrawal of the excess over four hundred, to form No. 2; after which, when the excess form the two Divisions, over four hundred in each, reaches two hundred, that excess will form No. 3, and so on; the same to be governed by the Central Board. Divisions organized in other cities and towns, will unite in the general affiliation, or be excluded the benefit of the Confederation.

#### *Arrearages.*

ART. XVII. Members who become six months in arrears are suspended from membership, until the arrearages be paid.

#### *Immoral Conduct.*

ART. XVIII. Members found guilty of gross immorality, or of maliciously slandering, or otherwise injuring another, are expelled. But all charges must be preferred in writing to the Chief of the Social Department, who refers the same for adjudication to the Group of Appeals, whose decision is final.

#### *Meetings.*

ART. XIX. The sessions of the Division are held on Wednesday evening of each week. The annual election is held at the first session of each Department, after the first Wednesday of January. Twenty members are a quorum at an election; ten at a weekly session.

#### *By-Laws.*

ART. XX. By-Laws may be made in accordance with this Constitution, with the consent of two-thirds of the members present, at a regular session—the same to be concurred in by a similar vote of the three Departments.

#### *Amendments.*

ART. XXI. This Constitution may be altered or amended under the same restrictions, and by the same form as prescribed for the framing of By-Laws.

